

# Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

## Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. table	Opinions of President Clinton (1 page)	04/29/1998	P1/b(1)
002. memo	Mail Link Monitor to Maxfield, Nancy H. re: [Visitor Appointment Confirmation] [partial] (1 page)	04/28/1998	P6/b(6); b(7)(C), b(7)(F)
003. memo	Mail Link Monitor to Maxfield, Nancy H. re: [Visitors Appointment Confirmation] [partial] (1 page)	04/28/1998	P6/b(6), b(7)(C), b(7)(F)
004. memo	Mail Link Monitor to Maxfield, Nancy H. re: [Visitors Appointment Confirmation] [partial] (1 page)	04/27/1998	P6/b(6), b(7)(C), b(7)(F)
005. memo	Mail Link Monitor to Maxfield, Nancy H. re: [Visitor Appointment Confirmation] [partial] (1 page)	04/28/1998	P6/b(6), b(7)(C), b(7)(F)
006. memo	Mail Link Monitor to Maxfield, Nancy H. re: [Visitor Appointment Confirmation] [partial] (1 page)	04/28/1998	P6/b(6), b(7)(C), b(7)(F)
007. memo	Mail Link Monitor to Maxfield, Nancy H. re: [Visitors Appointment Confirmation] [partial] (1 page)	04/28/1998	P6/b(6), b(7)(C), b(7)(F)
008. memo	Mail Link Monitor to Maxfield, Nancy H. re: [Visitor Appointment Confirmation] [partial] (1 page)	04/28/1998	P6/b(6), b(7)(C), b(7)(F)
009. letter	McFeely, Conal to Barton, Rick re: Ex-Prisoner's Investment Fund [partial] (1 page)	03/05/1998	P6/b(6)
010. email	WHSR [originated- American Embassy, London] to Bandler, Donald K. et al. re: Presidential Visit to Northern Ireland (5 pages)	04/14/1998	P1/b(1)
011. email	WHSR [originated- American Embassy, London] to Bandler, Donald K. et al. re: Northern Ireland: U.S. Game Plan Funding the Peace Process (5 pages)	03/27/1998	P1/b(1)

### COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records  
National Security Council  
European Affairs (Keirn Brown)  
OA/Box Number: 2390

### FOLDER TITLE:

Ireland - Coordinated Meeting/US Initiatives [2]

Eric Holzer  
2006-1759-F  
eh795

### RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

- P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
- P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
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C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.

PRM. Personal record misfile defined in accordance with 44 U.S.C. 2201(3).

RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
012a. summary	Summary of Joint Dublin-London Cable re: Northern Ireland: U.S. Game Plan Funding the Peace Process (7 pages)	n.d.	P1/b(1)
012b. report	Northern Ireland: Economic Trends (1 page)	03/16/1998	P1/b(1)
013. letter	White, Padraic A. to Norland, Dick re: [Economic Revitalization] [partial] (1 page)	04/03/1998	P6/b(6)
014. fax	Phone No. (Partial) (1 page)	04/02/1998	P6/b(6)
015. memo	Larry Butler and David Leavy to Sandy Berger and James Steinberg re: Strategy (3 pages)	04/07/1998	P5
016a. memo	Butler, Lawrence E. to Berger, Samuel R. re: The President's Meeting with Senator George Mitchell, 2-2:30 p.m., Monday, April 13, 1998 (1 page)	04/13/1998	P1/b(1)
016b. memo	Berger to the President re: Meeting with Senator George Mitchell (3 pages)	n.d.	P1/b(1)
017. talking points	Northern Ireland Coordination Meeting, Points to Make (4 pages)	n.d.	P1/b(1)
018. memo	Butler to Steinberg, James re: Northern Ireland Peace Process: Follow-Up to St. Patrick's Day Meetings (3 pages)	03/25/1998	P1/b(1)

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April 7, 1998

INFORMATION

MEMORANDUM FOR SANDY BERGER AND JAMES STEINBERG

FROM: LARRY BUTLER AND DAVID LEAVY

SUBJECT: Strategy for Northern Ireland Settlement  
Agreement

Objective

As the Stormont talks conclude there are three main communications objectives for our end game strategy:

- to make clear to the population, north and south, that this agreement is in their individual and collective best interest and will help build a more prosperous and peaceful future;
- to recognize the statesmanship of former Senator Mitchell and all the leaders who took courageous steps towards peace;
- highlight the public and private role of the United States in bringing the peace process to closure.

Background

Regardless of the outcome of the Stormont talks, there will be an important public affairs component to managing the last 24 hours.

If no agreement is reached before the Easter holiday, or there is a collapse in the talks, the President will need to publicly scold the leaders for failing to seize this moment in history while balancing the need to keep the process and hopes of the Irish people alive for the future. This can be done by a written statement in order to keep some distance between the White House and Stormont.

If there is a successful outcome to the talks, we recommend the following four-part plan to reach all of the necessary constituencies and validators:

[NOTE: This is in addition to any phone calls the President may be called on to make.]

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## Communications Rollout

### **I. Public Statements**

- Presidential Statement. POTUS would deliver statement to cameras on Friday, April 10<sup>th</sup>.
- POTUS phone calls to Mitchell, Blair and Ahern. Either on joint conference call or individually, POTUS could congratulate key participants -- recommend photo or spray coverage of the calls.
- Interview with one domestic reporter. POTUS could spend 10 minutes with key reporter on significance of agreement ( *New York Times*)
- Tic-Toc Stories. Staff will manage tic-toc stories with timeline on US and presidential involvement including any last minute phone calls the President was asked to make.
- POTUS Roundtable with Irish reporters. To highlight commitment and possible announce POTUS trip, the President could do a short interview session with several key Irish journalists to applaud accomplishments and prod population to accept the agreement in referendum.
- Meeting with Sen. Mitchell. POTUS and national security team to be briefed by Senator Mitchell. (The week of April 13<sup>th</sup> prior to departure for Santiago.) Mitchell could also do briefing for White House press corps.

### **II. Congressional Calls**

To be divided up among foreign policy principals:

Ben Gilman (on the road).

Peter King (in New York, will be here on Thursday-he and Richie Neal have been invited to the Sinn Fein convention next week).

James Walsh (out of town).

Chris Dodd (on private travel in Ireland).

Ted Kennedy (anxious to go public with his reaction).

### **III. Calls to Participants**

To be divided up among foreign policy principals:

**COPY**

- David Trimble, UUP
- Gerry Adams, Sinn Fein
- John Hume, SDLP
- Gary McMichael, UDP
- David Ervine
- Lord Alderdice, Alliance
- Monica McWilliams, Women's Coalition
- 

#### **Briefing to Irish-American Community**

To ensure appropriate validation from the Irish-American community we recommend Jim Steinberg do a conference call with the following on Friday:

- Brian O'Dwyer.
- Tom Donahue.
- Paul Quinn.
- Bruce Morrison.
- Jim Lyons.
- Andy Summers-President of Irish-American Unity Conference
- Niall O'Dowd

Concurrences by: DON BANDLER and MARA RUDMAN

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001a. fax cover sheet	[Implementation of Good Friday Agreement] (1 page)	06/17/1998	P1/b(1)
001b. letter	[Implementation of Good Friday Agreement] (3 pages)	06/09/1998	P1/b(1)
001c. letter	[Implementation of Good Friday Agreement] (4 pages)	06/16/1998	P1/b(1)
002a. fax cover sheet	Norland, Richard to Butler, Lawrence et al. re: [Northern Ireland Assembly] (1 page)	05/18/1998	P1/b(1)
002b. fax	[Northern Ireland Assembly] (5 pages)	05/18/1998	P1/b(1)
003. email	Bandler, Donald K. to Natl Security Advisor re: Northern Ireland Issues Update (1 page)	06/16/1998	P1/b(1)
004a. memo	Butler to Berger, Samuel R. re: Presidential Drop-by with Gerry Adams, Friday, May 29, 2:25-2:45 p.m. (2 pages)	05/28/1998	P1/b(1)
004b. briefing paper	From Berger re: Meeting with Sinn Fein Leader Gerry Adams (3 pages)	n.d.	P1/b(1)
004c. talking points	Points to be Made for Meeting with Gerry Adams (1 page)	n.d.	P1/b(1)
004d. report	[Government Report] (3 pages)	07/30/1997	P1/b(1)
004e. talking points	Points for Sandy Berger to Make with Gerry Adams (2 pages)	n.d.	P1/b(1)

### COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records  
National Security Council  
European Affairs (Lawrence Butler)  
OA/Box Number: 1574

### FOLDER TITLE:

Northern Ireland, May 1, 1998 [3]

Eric Holzer  
2006-1759-F  
eh791

### RESTRICTION CODES

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005. list	[Potential Supporters for a Center of Peace and Reconciliation] [partial] (1 page)	06/09/1998	P6/b(6)
006a. memo	Berger to the President re: Your Call to Irish Prime Minister Ahern, May 23, 1998, 12:05-12:15 p.m. (1 page)	05/23/1998	P1/b(1)
006b. talking points	Points to be Made for Telephone Conversation with Irish Prime Minister Bertie Ahern (1 page)	n.d.	P1/b(1)
007a. memo	Berger to the President re: Your Call to Irish Prime Minister Ahern, May 23, 1998, 12:05-12:15 p.m. [duplicate of 006a.] (1 page)	05/23/1998	P1/b(1)
007b. talking points	Points to be Made for Telephone Conversation with Irish Prime Minister Bertie Ahern [duplicate of 006b.] (1 page)	n.d.	P1/b(1)
008a. memo	Berger to the President re: Your Call to Irish Prime Minister Ahern, May 23, 1998, 12:05-12:15 p.m. [draft] (1 page)	n.d.	P1/b(1)
008b. memo	Points to be Made for Telephone Conversation with Irish Prime Minister Bertie Ahern [draft] (1 page)	n.d.	P1/b(1)
009. briefing paper	[Meeting with Sinn Fein Leader Gerry Adams] [draft] [page 2 only] (1 page)	n.d.	P1/b(1)
010a. briefing paper	From Berger re: Meeting with Sinn Fein Leader Gerry Adams [draft] (3 pages)	n.d.	P1/b(1)
010b. talking points	Points to be Made for Meeting with Gerry Adams [draft] (1 page)	n.d.	P1/b(1)
010c. talking points	Points to be Made for Meeting with Gerry Adams [draft] (1 page)	n.d.	P1/b(1)

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011a. briefing paper	From Burger, Meeting with Sinn Fein Leader Gerry Adams (2 pages)	05/28/1998	P1/b(1)
011b. report	[Government Report] [duplicate of 004d] (3 pages)	07/30/1997	P1/b(1)
012. memo	Lawrence Butler to James Steinberg re: Northern Ireland Peace Roll- out (4 pages)	04/14/1998	P5
013. email	Scott-Perez, Marilyn L. to Bandler re: For Sandy and Jim (1 page)	05/21/1998	P1/b(1)
014. note	re: Scheduling Proposal (1 page)	ca. 05/19/1998	P5
015. email	WHSR [Originating from American Embassy Dublin] to Bandler et al. re: May 22 Referendum Results: "Ireland Refined" (4 pages)	05/27/1998	P1/b(1)

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NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL  
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20504

2673

April 14, 1998

INFORMATION

MEMORANDUM FOR JAMES STEINBERG

THROUGH: DONALD K. BANDLER

FROM: LAWRENCE E. BUTLER

SUBJECT: Northern Ireland Peace Roll-out: Phase II

Deputy Natl Sec Advisor  
has seen

**NOTED**

Objective

Develop our communication strategy in build up to possible POTUS visit to Ireland. Challenges ahead include UUP and Sinn Fein party conferences this weekend, in addition to the key May 22 referendum date.

There are two communications objectives for the transition to the referendum and implementation:

- To line up broad-based, subtle U.S. support for the agreement, seeking to minimize our exposure to unionist opponents in Northern Ireland - our message should be non-partisan, future-focussed (benefits of peace and prosperity);
- to recognize the leaders who took courageous steps towards peace;

Background

The onus of selling this agreement necessarily must fall to the parties and governments who negotiated it. The United States must continue to be viewed as engaged and supportive of appropriate efforts to implement the agreement. The opponents of the agreement, particularly unionists, will be quick to exploit any sign that we are interfering in the referendum process.

We recommend that we build on the four-part plan agreed for the immediate post-agreement roll-out to continue reaching all of the necessary constituencies and validators:

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## Communications Rollout

### **I. Public Events and Statements**

Presidential visit announcement. Either POTUS or SRB should personally announce POTUS travel when/if the decision is taken to visit Northern Ireland and Ireland, simultaneous with a fact sheet on U.S. economic initiatives (including on-going ones).

- POTUS meeting with Mo Mowlam. Mo will visit here the latter half of April. She has not had a meeting with President up until now. This would afford an opportunity to acknowledge her contributions and profile the President's efforts (Mowlam is guaranteed to be effusive in her thanks for the President in press events during her visit).
- Press interaction. To highlight commitment and possible announce POTUS trip, the President should consider a short session with key TV journalists (RTE, ITN, BBC) and/or a short conference call session with several key Irish journalists to applaud accomplishments and prod population to accept the agreement in referendum -- need to be careful to avoid overexposure though. JS should brief selected U.S. press to set expectations for trip, impact on vote, etc.
- Assemble economic package. NSC, Jim Lyons, Commerce, and State to complete work on a revived and expanded package of initiatives for the President to announce (possibly simultaneous with announcement of visit to Ireland). One open issue is whether to have POTUS announce his intention to ask for an additional \$10 million for IFI in FY2000 authorization. Mitchell raised the question whether we could contribute to start up costs for the new institutions (NIA and NSC) - this seems complex and maybe inappropriate.
- FLOTUS Women's Conference. Belfast proposes it take place May 15, the Friday before a possible date for POTUS visit to Northern Ireland. FLOTUS prepared to do this, in addition to advancing POTUS's arrival with Monday morning travel back to Belfast/Derry for "common people" events.
- POTUS visit. To be decided once we see how UUP and Sinn Fein are doing with their parties in selling the agreement. POTUS to call Bertie Ahern to discuss appropriateness; NSC to discuss thinking with party leaders (consulting without giving them a veto). Embassy London and Belfast continue to oppose a

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Derry stop due to balance (one-sidedly nationalist at a time when we need to build unionist support) and availability of time. We need to begin thinking about the structure of the visit to Belfast - London is sending in a cable today with ideas.

## II. Congressional Calls/Notes

We should prepare short notes from the President for key members of Congress who have invested time in visiting Ireland and supporting the peace process (Senators Mack, Kennedy, Dodd, Harkin, and McConnell; Representatives Gilman, Walsh, King, and Neal, Jim Moran, Meahon).

- Neal and King are visiting Dublin this weekend to support Gerry Adams's efforts during his party conference.
- Speaker Gingrich is leading a delegation July 5 to Northern Ireland.
- Tom Harkin leaves tomorrow for Derry, Belfast and Dublin.

## III. Contact with Participants

Sandy, Jim and NSC staff should stay in weekly touch with the key leaders, starting after this weekend's UUP and SF party meetings.

Jim will meet all of them in Belfast following his next Sherpa meetings in London at the end of April.

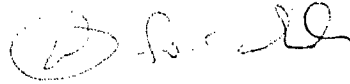
## IV. Irish-American Community

To ensure appropriate validation from the Irish-American community, Larry and Christine Stanek will stay in touch with key members to follow-up today's conference call to gauge reactions during the referendum campaign and encourage active support.

- Legal should be in touch with State and Justice to frame the legally available options with respect to the deportation and extradition cases. Mowlam may have insights as to HMG's thinking on extradition; however, it will be important not to fuel expectations until we understand what is both politically and legally available.

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Concurrences by: David Leavy, Mara Rudman, Eric Rubin and  
Jamie Baker



Attachments

Tab A Commerce Initiatives Memo

Tab B SAPAS Lyons Initiatives

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Log # 3624

ADDITIONAL COMMENTS

Fm \_\_\_\_\_ To \_\_\_\_\_ Date \_\_\_\_\_

Fm \_\_\_\_\_ To \_\_\_\_\_ Date \_\_\_\_\_

Sally - I do not favor  
We can't get into the  
practice of ~~any~~ <sup>any</sup> ~~any~~  
~~any~~ POTUS has to  
see NI ~~any~~ <sup>any</sup> time  
they come to DC.

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can't get into this procedure  
of POTUS having to see NI  
types every time they come  
to DC.

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001. memo	Lawrence Butler to James Steinberg re: Northern Ireland Peace Roll-out (4 pages)	04/14/1998	P5

### COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records  
NSC Records Management  
([Northern Ireland Peace...])  
OA/Box Number: 2029

### FOLDER TITLE:

9802673

Kelly Hendren  
2006-1759-F  
kh944

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NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL  
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20504

2673

April 14, 1998

INFORMATION

MEMORANDUM FOR JAMES STEINBERG

THROUGH: DONALD K. BANDLER

FROM: LAWRENCE E. BUTLER

SUBJECT: Northern Ireland Peace Roll-out: Phase II

Deputy Natl Sec Advisor  
has seen

NOTED

Objective

Develop our communication strategy in build up to possible POTUS visit to Ireland. Challenges ahead include UUP and Sinn Fein party conferences this weekend, in addition to the key May 22 referendum date.

There are two communications objectives for the transition to the referendum and implementation:

- To line up broad-based, subtle U.S. support for the agreement, seeking to minimize our exposure to unionist opponents in Northern Ireland - our message should be non-partisan, future-focussed (benefits of peace and prosperity);
- to recognize the leaders who took courageous steps towards peace;

Background

The onus of selling this agreement necessarily must fall to the parties and governments who negotiated it. The United States must continue to be viewed as engaged and supportive of appropriate efforts to implement the agreement. The opponents of the agreement, particularly unionists, will be quick to exploit any sign that we are interfering in the referendum process.

We recommend that we build on the four-part plan agreed for the immediate post-agreement roll-out to continue reaching all of the necessary constituencies and validators:

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## Communications Rollout

### I. Public Events and Statements

Presidential visit announcement. Either POTUS or SRB should personally announce POTUS travel when/if the decision is taken to visit Northern Ireland and Ireland, simultaneous with a fact sheet on U.S. economic initiatives (including on-going ones).

- POTUS meeting with Mo Mowlam. Mo will visit here the latter half of April. She has not had a meeting with President up until now. This would afford an opportunity to acknowledge her contributions and profile the President's efforts (Mowlam is guaranteed to be effusive in her thanks for the President in press events during her visit).
- Press interaction. To highlight commitment and possible announce POTUS trip, the President should consider a short session with key TV journalists (RTE, ITN, BBC) and/or a short conference call session with several key Irish journalists to applaud accomplishments and prod population to accept the agreement in referendum -- need to be careful to avoid overexposure though. JS should brief selected U.S. press to set expectations for trip, impact on vote, etc.
- Assemble economic package. NSC, Jim Lyons, Commerce, and State to complete work on a revived and expanded package of initiatives for the President to announce (possibly simultaneous with announcement of visit to Ireland). One open issue is whether to have POTUS announce his intention to ask for an additional \$10 million for IFI in FY2000 authorization. Mitchell raised the question whether we could contribute to start up costs for the new institutions (NIA and NSC) - this seems complex and maybe inappropriate.
- FLOTUS Women's Conference. Belfast proposes it take place May 15, the Friday before a possible date for POTUS visit to Northern Ireland. FLOTUS prepared to do this, in addition to advancing POTUS's arrival with Monday morning travel back to Belfast/Derry for "common people" events.
- POTUS visit. To be decided once we see how UUP and Sinn Fein are doing with their parties in selling the agreement. POTUS to call Bertie Ahern to discuss appropriateness; NSC to discuss thinking with party leaders (consulting without giving them a veto). Embassy London and Belfast continue to oppose a

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Derry stop due to balance (one-sidedly nationalist at a time when we need to build unionist support) and availability of time. We need to begin thinking about the structure of the visit to Belfast - London is sending in a cable today with ideas.

## II. Congressional Calls/Notes

We should prepare short notes from the President for key members of Congress who have invested time in visiting Ireland and supporting the peace process (Senators Mack, Kennedy, Dodd, Harkin, and McConnell; Representatives Gilman, Walsh, King, and Neal, Jim Moran, Meahon).

- Neal and King are visiting Dublin this weekend to support Gerry Adams's efforts during his party conference.
- Speaker Gingrich is leading a delegation July 5 to Northern Ireland.
- Tom Harkin leaves tomorrow for Derry, Belfast and Dublin.

## III. Contact with Participants

Sandy, Jim and NSC staff should stay in weekly touch with the key leaders, starting after this weekend's UUP and SF party meetings.

Jim will meet all of them in Belfast following his next Sherpa meetings in London at the end of April.

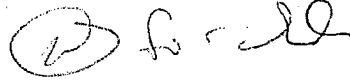
## IV. Irish-American Community

To ensure appropriate validation from the Irish-American community, Larry and Christine Stanek will stay in touch with key members to follow-up today's conference call to gauge reactions during the referendum campaign and encourage active support.

- Legal should be in touch with State and Justice to frame the legally available options with respect to the deportation and extradition cases. Mowlam may have insights as to HMG's thinking on extradition; however, it will be important not to fuel expectations until we understand what is both politically and legally available.

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Concurrences by: David Leavy, Mara Rudman, Eric Rubin and  
Jamie Baker



Attachments

Tab A Commerce Initiatives Memo

Tab B SAPAS Lyons Initiatives

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# Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

## Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. note	re: Northern Ireland Politicians (1 page)	ca. 07/2000	P5
002. letter	President Clinton to Hume, John re: [Northern Ireland Peace Process] [partial] (1 page)	07/14/2000	P6/b(6)
003. letter	President Clinton to Hume, John re: [Northern Ireland Peace Process] [draft] [partial] (1 page)	n.d.	P6/b(6)
004. letter	President Clinton to Hume, John re: [Northern Ireland Peace Process] [draft] [partial] (1 page)	n.d.	P6/b(6)
005. letter	President Clinton to Hume, John re: [Northern Ireland Peace Process] [draft] [partial] (1 page)	n.d.	P6/b(6)

### COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records  
NSC Records Management  
([Northern Ireland Peace...])  
OA/Box Number: 4097

### FOLDER TITLE:

0004250

Eric Holzer  
2006-1759-F  
eh825

### RESTRICTION CODES

#### Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

- P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
- P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
- P3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
- P4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA]
- P5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA]
- P6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA]

C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.

PRM. Personal record misfile defined in accordance with 44 U.S.C. 2201(3).

RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

#### Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

- b(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
- b(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]
- b(3) Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]
- b(4) Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]
- b(6) Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA]
- b(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]
- b(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
- b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

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Log # \_\_\_\_\_

ADDITIONAL COMMENTS

Fm \_\_\_\_\_ To \_\_\_\_\_ Date \_\_\_\_\_

~~Bob~~ - recommend you send  
upstairs.

Jim: The insatiable desire of  
Western Island politicians for  
praise & recognition. The Nobel  
Prize wasn't enough? Can we do  
just this little, or do we need  
letters to the others?

Fm \_\_\_\_\_ To \_\_\_\_\_ Date \_\_\_\_\_

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# Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

## Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001: letter	Bruce Morrison to President William J. Clinton re: Northern Ireland (4 pages)	10/18/2000	P5 51272

### COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records  
NSC Records Management  
([Northern Ireland Peace...])  
OA/Box Number: 4110

### FOLDER TITLE:

0006706

Kelly Hendren

2006-1759-F

kh945

### RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

- P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
- P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
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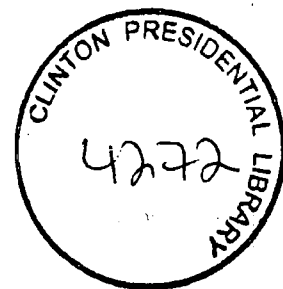
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October 18, 2000



The Honorable William J. Clinton  
President  
The White House  
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W.  
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Mr. President:

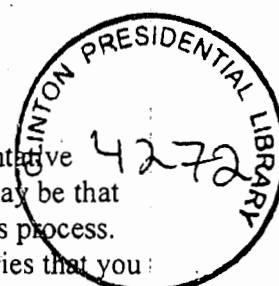
It was a pleasure as always to see you at the O'Keefe/Williams fundraiser at the Sewall-Belmont House. Nancy was thrilled have you visit the house, and we were both most honored to be mentioned in your remarks.

I was also pleased to have a few moments to talk to you about the situation in Northern Ireland. Your continued attention to the peace process there, regardless of what else may be competing for your attention, has always been a source of admiration and gratitude for those of use who first advocated your involvement in this issue. We would not have come as far as we have except for your careful and skillful interventions and decisions. We will not move forward this fall without your help.

You asked that I send you a few suggestions about what might be done. They follow:

1. Seek to help end the violence among Loyalist paramilitaries. The brutal violence in the community over the past few months is very dangerous. It has been accompanied by sectarian harassment that could spill over into intercommunity violence very easily. While some have been quick to identify what's going on as merely a turf fight over drug and protection rackets, there is a deeper cause. Loyalist paramilitaries come from the deprived Protestant communities, which have long been the cannon fodder for Ian Paisley's bigoted rhetoric. They have long been sustained in their militancy by assurance of Protestant and British hegemony in Northern Ireland. With that condition being swept away both by economic ascendancy of Catholics and political legitimacy of nationalism enshrined in the Good Friday Agreement, a combination of anger, perceived betrayal, and fear over being left behind lies at the core of these self-destructive outbursts of violence.

The political leaders of the Loyalist communities are brave and impressive men who have taken their own significant risks for peace over the last six years. When I went to Northern Ireland in 1993 promoting a special role for the Clinton Administration in the peace process, my group was approached secretly for a private meeting with leaders of the Loyalist political parties. My colleagues and I have maintained close relationships with these parties and individuals ever since. I believe it would be very helpful to reach



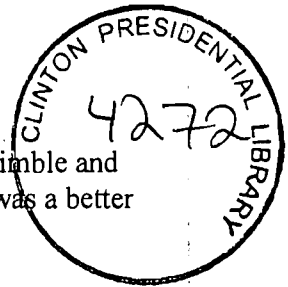
out to them now and to explore ways that intervention by you or your representative could facilitate the attempts at negotiating an end to the current violence. It may be that certain Protestant religious leaders in the United States could play a role in this process. The key recommendation is that you communicate directly or through emissaries that you are concerned about the suffering of these deprived Protestant communities. The message should be clear that you do not view this just as a criminal problem, as Peter Mandelson has been prone to describe it, but part of the peace process deserving of high level, informed attention.

2. Implementation of the Patten Commission Report. I'm sure you are fully up to date on the conflict between the Irish government, SDLP, and Sinn Fein, one the one hand, and the British government, on the other, regarding the need to implement the Patten Commission Report. Without getting lost in the details, the bottom line is that this aspect of the peace process has already been compromised, first by sending it to a Commission rather than resolving it in the Good Friday Agreement, and then by the judicious compromises proposed by that Commission. Success does not depend on #10 Downing Street artfully spinning the virtues of further compromises. Success will arrive when the Irish government, SDLP, and Sinn Fein all call for nationalists to join the new police force and to participate in cross-community policing that takes it out of sectarian or national identity politics. On this issue, there is a nationalist veto, like it or not. But there are certainly grounds to be accepting of the nationalist position, given that Patten is a wholly reasonable set of proposals.

Sinn Fein has recently signaled that their greatest concerns are not about the symbols which are so contentious with Unionists, but with the substance of community control and accountability of the new policing service. I doubt that this is an opening to assuage the Unionists on the symbols, given the Sinn Fein position on flying the Union Jack, but it certainly means that the British government cannot hide behind the Unionist concerns when what is really at stake is the loss of power by security and intelligence services operating out of Whitehall and the Northern Ireland office.

"Fully implemented Patten" has to be the U.S. position. This has bipartisan support in the Congress, and it is transparently right on the merits. Getting there has two obstacles. One is the agenda of the security agencies in the British government. On that one, you need to encourage Tony Blair to face them down on the grounds that all that has been accomplished thus far in Northern Ireland could easily be washed away by failing to create an accountable cross-community policing service. The Unionists' objections are more difficult. Tony Blair should certainly hear that it will not do to turn this again into a "no guns, no police reform" stalemate. The decommissioning process, such as it is, has been institutionalized and cannot once again be introduced as a poison pill for further progress. It is especially insidious for Unionist leaders like Jeffrey Donaldson to express such umbrage over the continued possession of arms by the IRA, while he remains so silent about the persistent use of arms by Loyalist paramilitaries.

Still, there remains the challenge of preventing a UUP walkout in the face of full implementation. We'd be a lot better off if Mandelson had done the deed once and for



all, cleanly, last spring, and not engaged in the foolish tit for tat between Trimble and Mallon, leaving both of them politically exposed and convinced that there was a better bargain to be struck. But we are where we are. My prescription:

- a) Back the British off all their unnecessary weasel words retaining centralized control. They'll just have to trust the political leaders of Northern Ireland.
- b) Winnow the non-negotiable demands of the nationalist side down to the core using the Irish government to get there.
- c) Use your good offices to cause some selected confidence building measures to occur unsolicited and unconditionally, from the Republicans. There are recent hints from Gerry Kelly that this is on offer.
- d) Put a full court press on David Trimble to grasp the opportunity to move further in light of the positive events and keep the peace process moving by accepting, however reluctantly and with whatever protestations, the acceptable version of "fully implementing Patten."

If you agree with this strategy, it must be carefully managed. Step a is clearly between you and Blair. Step b is between you and the Irish government. On Step c, you can get an assist from the Irish government, but it involves your asking the Republicans to take some new risks for peace, but not outside the ambit of what they have already done or agreed to do at some point in the future (e.g., a new round of inspections).

3. Your Trip to Ireland Can Play a Key Role. The peace process has always needed deadlines to move past obstacles. Your trip, if early enough (i.e., late November or early December) can be such a deadline on policing. Without a deadline, the British will be sorely tempted to let the issue slide unresolved through the spring election, as Major did with initiatives to restore the IRA ceasefire in 1996-97.

Your 1995 trip forced through the "two-track" move on decommissioning and brought George Mitchell to the fore as the mediator. Your trip in 1998 pushed Adams over the line on "war is over" type talk. Mitchell's deadline made the Good Friday Agreement happen. The list goes on. A diplomatic push to have your trip preceded by successful resolution of the Patten impasse would be a solid bet.

4. I can help you with these items. For the last seven years, I have been working on this process informally behind the scenes. That has usually been a very helpful role for me to play. Occasionally, it has come at significant personal, political and economic cost, but it has been well worth the contribution to your extraordinary leadership on these issues. However, now that the policy has been so successfully institutionalized at NSC and at the State Department, people like me are looked on as outsiders who shouldn't be meddling. I hope that you don't share that view.



In addition, your White House is now short on "Ireland hands" and stretched by the Middle East crisis. In any case, with respect to the Loyalist paramilitaries and Sinn Fein in particular, I believe I could be very helpful in learning what kinds of things are possible. For instance, how could American help be used to help stem the Loyalist conflict? What is the range of confidence building, measures Republicans would contemplate in response to assurance of a White House push for the "full implementation of Patten"? I don't think you have a better conduit for getting accurate answers to these questions, and I would be pleased to play that role if you would like me to.

I would be pleased to talk to you by phone or in person if you would like to follow up on any of these suggestions.

Sincerely,

*Bruce*

Bruce A. Morrison  
Vice Chairman

